

Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 227399 TOSEC 270115

FOR LORD ONLY FROM BARTHOLOMEW

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) UNGA, PFOR, CY

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S UNGA SPEECH - CYPRUS SECTION

REF: SECTO 27009, SECTO 27013

1. CYPRUS SECTION FOLLOWS, DRAFTED BY EUR. DRAFT INCLUDES ALTERNATIVE VERSIONS OF PARA 7. THE FIRST ALTERNATIVE (A) CONTAINS THE NEW PRINCIPLES. THE SECOND (B) DOES NOT. EUR PREFERS THE SECOND ALTERNATIVE. THEY HAVE PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING COMMENT. BEGIN QUOTE:

2. WITH REGARD TO THE CYPRUS SECTION, EUR RECOMMENDS THAT WE NOT INCORPORATE THE FULL LANGUAGE OF THE MODIFIED PRINCIPLES INTO THE SPEECH ITSELF. THEY POINT OUT THAT AT THIS POINT, THE TEXT OF THE PRINCIPLES HAS BEEN GIVEN TO ONLY A FEW EC-9 ALLIES AND TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM. WE HAVE HAD PRELIMINARY BRITISH COMMENTS AND
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EXPECT COMMENTS FROM THE DUTCH AND PERHAPS OTHERS BY

WEEK'S END. WE HAVE HEARD NOTHING FURTHER AS YET FROM WALDHEIM.

3. ON THE BASIS OF THE CURRENT SITUATION, THEREFORE, EUR RECOMMENDS THAT ONLY A GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE MODIFIED PRINCIPLES SHOULD APPEAR IN THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH. THIS WOULD ALSO AVOID THE RISK OF A NEGATIVE REACTION FROM EITHER THE GREEKS OR TURKS OR BOTH, WHO ARE LIKELY TO COMPARE THE CURRENT PRINCIPLES WITH THE SOMEWHAT MORE GENERAL PRINCIPLES ENUNCIATED LAST YEAR.

4. AS WE MOVE CLOSER TO THE ACTUAL DATE OF THE SPEECH, AND DEPENDING ON THE STATE OF PLAY AT THAT TIME, WE WILL BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO JUDGE WHETHER A FULLER PUBLIC ENUNCIATION OF THE PRINCIPLES WOULD BE BENEFICIAL TO OUR EFFORTS TO RESTART THE TALKS. END QUOTE.

5. BEGIN TEXT: AS WE HAVE ALL WITNESSED, PROGRESS TOWARD

A JUST CYPRUS SOLUTION HAS BEEN MINIMAL. IT WOULD BE

TRAGIC IF THE BITTERNESS THAT CYPRUS HAS SUFFERED IN

RECENT YEARS WERE TO SOLIDIFY AS A RESULT OF INACTION. TO

PERMIT THE STATUS QUO TO CONTINUE WILL ONLY GUARANTEE

FURTHER CONFLICT AND MISERY IN THE FUTURE.

6. CONSEQUENTLY, IN RECENT WEEKS THE UNITED STATES HAS

HELD DISCUSSIONS WITH

A NUMBER OF WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ON THE IMPORTANCE

OF RESTORING MOMENTUM TO THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

THESE DISCUSSIONS HAVE CENTERED, IN SOME MEASURE, ON THE

POSSIBILITY OF DEVELOPING A SET OF PRINCIPLES AS A

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FRAMEWORK FOR RESUMING THE CYPRUS TALKS. I INTEND TO

FURTHER EXPLORE THE FEASIBILITY OF THIS APPROACH IN MY OWN

TALKS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF GREECE, TURKEY, AND CYPRUS

IN THE COMING DAYS HERE IN NEW YORK, AND OF COURSE ALSO

WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND OTHERS CONCERNED.

7. (ALTERNATE A)

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT AN EFFECTIVE FRAMEWORK

FOR NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE BUILT UPON THESE PRINCIPLES:

-- THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO NEGOTIATE ALL ASPECTS OF

THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WITH A VIEW TO ARRIVING AT A PACKAGE

ARRANGEMENT WHICH PRESERVES THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY,

AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF CYPRUS.

-- THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO NEGOTIATE A TERRITORIAL

ARRANGEMENT WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE ECONOMIC

REQUIREMENTS AND SELF-RESPECT OF THE TWO CYPRIOT

COMMUNITIES, RECOGNIZING THAT THE PRESENT DIVIDING

LINE MUST BE ADJUSTED TO REDUCE, BY SOME MEASURE, THE

AREA CURRENTLY CONTROLLED BY THE TURKISH SIDE AND PROVIDE

FOR THE RETURN OF A SPECIFIED NUMBER OF REFUGEES.

-- WITH THE COMPLETION OF MUTUALLY AGREED BOUNDARY

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RECTIFICATIONS, THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO NEGOTIATE

CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A

FEDERAL SYSTEM ON A BIZONAL BASIS, WITH RELATIVELY

AUTONOMOUS ZONES AND A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD

PROVIDE THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE TWO COMMUNITIES

CAN LIVE IN FREEDOM AND HAVE A LARGE VOICE IN THEIR OWN

AFFAIRS.

-- THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO DISCUSS THE CONDITIONS

UNDER WHICH PERSONS CAN BE RESETTLED IN SAFETY, AND
CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH FREE CIRCULATION OF PERSONS ON THE
ISLAND MAY BE ASSURED.

-- THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO NEGOTIATE THE WITHDRAWAL
OF FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES OTHER THAN THOSE PRESENT UNDER
THE AUTHORITY OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS.

(ALTERNATE B)

FOR OUR PART, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT TO BE EFFEC-
TIVE, ANY SUCH PRINCIPLES SHOULD CALL ON BOTH SIDES TO
RECOGNIZE CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS NECESSARY TO AN
EQUITABLE SOLUTION:

-- THE NEED FOR A SETTLEMENT WHICH PRESERVES THE
INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF
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CYPRUS.

-- THE WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE A TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENT
WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS AND
HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS OF THE TWO CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES,
RECOGNIZING THAT THE PRESENT DIVIDING LINES ON CYPRUS
MUST BE ADJUSTED TO REDUCE THE AREA CURRENTLY CONTROLLED
BY THE TURKISH SIDE.

-- THE NEED TO NEGOTIATE CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS THAT
WILL PROVIDE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE TWO CYPRIOT
COMMUNITIES CAN LIVE IN FREEDOM IN THEIR RESPECTIVE
ZONES AND HAVE A LARGE VOICE IN THEIR OWN AFFAIRS.

-- AND THE NEED TO AGREE ON SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS THAT
WILL PERMIT THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES
OTHER THAN THOSE PRESENT UNDER INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS.

8. WE BELIEVE THAT A FRAMEWORK OF PRINCIPLES ALONG THESE
LINES IS ESSENTIAL TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE UNITED
STATES WILL CONTINUE TO DO ALL IT CAN TO ASSIST IN THIS
PROCESS, BUT NONE OF US CAN DO MORE OR GO FURTHER THAN
THE PARTIES THEMSELVES. ABOVE ALL, THE TWO COMMUNITIES
THEMSELVES MUST SHOW THE WILL TO SEEK PROGRESS. REGRET-

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ABLY, THERE HAVE BEEN NO DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE CYPRIOT
COMMUNITIES SINCE LAST FEBRUARY. CLEARLY, IT IS TIME FOR
A RENEWED COMMITMENT TO RE-INITIATE DISCUSSIONS AND TO
RESTORE MOMENTUM IN THIS CRITICAL AREA. ROBINSON

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